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1. (C - Entire Text.)

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2. I talked this morning with a person very close to General Suarez Mason, and gave him my thoughts on the helpful role that General Suarez Mason might play in obtaining the release of Jacobo Timerman. My pitch is that if Suarez Mason sees himself becoming an influential person in Argentina's foreign affairs he should begin now with gestures that might erase at least part of his dark reputation. My contact agreed to discuss this with Suarez Mason on Friday.

CASTRO

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January 1975
Dept of State

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POR

NLOB SCENE

Deputy Secretary Christopher's Meeting
with Jacobo Timerman

Jacobo Timerman, Hector Timerman, Rabbi Mort Rosenthal, Deputy Secretary Christopher, Deputy Assistant Secretary Schneider, Doug Dworkin, Claus W. Ruser, Gerald J. Whitman (Notetaker)

→ TOWN

Mr. Christopher welcomed Mr. Timerman to the United States. Mr. Timerman's case had become a symbol. We had hoped that this day would come. The Deputy Secretary expressed his sympathy and admiration for the fortitude with which Mr. Timerman had served his detention.

Mr. Timerman expressed his gratitude to Mr. Christopher for the U.S. Government's efforts on his behalf, both by officials in Washington and the Embassy in Buenos Aires.

The Deputy Secretary said he was interested in Mr. Timerman's views in light of his experience, his advice on human rights policy, and Argentina's prospects.

Mr. Timerman said he would try to answer with candor. Three years ago the United States had begun its human rights policy high with idealism. It was a policy to be applied to all regimes, be they communist or fascist. It was the first time in history a major power had made human rights a significant element in its foreign policy. At this time, however, the U.S. was no longer the leader in the advancement of

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human rights, and perhaps its policy had missed the point. The policy was begun with ideas that struck the world, but the initial efforts were not followed through. The pragmatic approach of doing only what could be done was wrong -- there was nothing to be gained by being pragmatic.

Mr. Christopher said U.S. human rights policy had not changed, but its implementation was only one part of U.S. foreign policy. He could not hold up Argentina as the best example of the results of our policies but, over the world as a whole, that policy has had some effect. Perhaps, however, the U.S. had been too pragmatic in applying its human rights policy and, in light of Mr. Timerman's views, it might be worthwhile to re-examine that pragmatism.

Mr. Timerman said that Argentina is similar to what the Balkans were in Europe: it is the sick man of Latin America. In an atmosphere of conspiracy, military solutions are advanced for political problems and vice versa. These problems have always existed, but there is one significant difference this time -- there was never so much violence before. The government believes that killing people is a solution.

Mr. Timerman said it was interesting that the Soviets had established influence with Argentina, while the PRC had become Chile's friend.

When asked what his blueprint for human rights policy in Argentina would be, Mr. Timerman asserted that the U.S. must consider Argentina within the context of Latin America; there must be a joint policy with other countries -- such as Venezuela and Mexico -- to build up democracy. As it stands now, Argentina is heading for a dangerous explosion.

Mr. Timerman said there is no group in Argentina today strong enough to provide an alternative leadership to the country. But, perhaps in a few years, such a group will develop. Supporting the moderates in the present regime, however, is not a solution, since they are just as responsible as the hardliners for what is happening in Argentina and they have no solution for the country's problems.

Mr. Christopher said Mr. Timerman's remarks have authenticity, since the moderates have not changed things very much. World-wide our efforts to work

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with the moderate factions in military regimes has produced only modest results. Perhaps the U.S. should simply take the high road. With respect to enlisting the support of other Latin American countries, he noted that these countries have not always been very helpful.

When asked why he thought he was released, Timerman said he was certain it was because of the pressure of public opinion from the United States. The Argentine Government is afraid of U.S. and international public opinion, and public opinion should be used more often. Argentina thinks in terms of power and for this reason respects the U.S.

Mr. Timerman concluded the meeting by again thanking Mr. Christopher for U.S. support, and expressing his deep gratitude for the assistance he received from the U.S. Embassy in Buenos Aires.

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looking to their own vulnerabilities, both electorally and on the issues Anyone tempted to be smug should recall that the South and West, where Reagan's strength would lie in a contest against Kennedy, contain 291 electoral votes, 21 more than are needed to win the election If Carter were nominated, Reagan would not have so firm a hold on some southern states, but he could make it up in the Northeast

On the issues, the Democrats need to come up with better answers than they have for dealing with inflation, energy supplies, and US weakness in the world Ronald Reagan may be too simple in his approach to govern effectively, but the Democrats right now are too confused to win the election

Only the Jews can save the Jews.

Coming Home

by Jacobo Timerman

Tel Aviv

The Jews are always making explanations, again and again, to themselves and to non-Jews, in all countries, searching for words in all languages What is curious is that we must always explain the same things, things that have been explained through many centuries Each generation, of Jews and non-Jews, demands a new explanation But it is essentially the same explanation every time

Two things I said upon my arrival in Israel on September 27 aroused debate in the Jewish community of Argentina, as well as in some non-Jewish circles there Needless to say, these statements were seized upon with a kind of morbid pleasure by the anti-Semitic press of Buenos Aires I said "Only the Jews can save the Jews The others can only help" I also said "At last I have found a home, my fatherland It is a shame that the philanthropic organizations that brought my father from the Ukraine to Argentina did not bring him to Israel"

Some friends in Buenos Aires pointed out that during my imprisonment, I got very little help from the Jewish institutions in Argentina Only two rabbis stood beside me and my family It was not the Jewish press of Buenos Aires, but an English daily—the *Buenos Aires Herald*—that took up my case The *Judenrat* (Jewish Council) of Buenos Aires left the task of presenting my case in the hands of lawyers retained by my family If that organization ever mentioned my case, it did so only to register the statement in its archives, so that it could prove its concern in case anyone asked

But I was not speaking about saving myself, about my physical safety If I had feared for the security of my family and me, I would have left Argentina when I started to edit the newspaper *La Opinion* in 1971, from that moment I endured threats and bombing attempts from both the extreme left and the extreme right I was even aware in April 1977 that my arrest was imminent But I felt that my paper's struggle for democratic pluralism and human rights, against anti-Semitism and fascism, obliged me to remain

Of course I am grateful to all those who aided in my survival and fought for my freedom Yet in the end deliverance consists in the possibility of realizing in oneself one's own identity It is the possibility of living an identity without the slightest possibility that that identity will be discussed, analyzed, rejected In that transcendent sense, only the Jews can save the Jews, because only the Jews could have built the state of Israel, and only the Jews can maintain its existence, enrich its reality, assure its future Is this so difficult to understand? How many times have we already explained it? Is it necessary to explain it again?

James Neilson, a journalist for the *Observer* of London, wrote about my expulsion from Argentina "Had Israel not existed to give him refuge, a dozen countries in the civilized West would have been proud to do the same The parallels with Soviet treatment of Solzhenitsyn could hardly have been more vivid" Rarely have I encountered a journalist of such courage as James Neilson, who wrote dozens of articles in the Argentinian, British, and Israeli press about my situation and the situation of thousands of other prisoners He is a democratic man, a Christian born in England, who spent a year as a student in an Israeli kibbutz And yet

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Jacobo Timerman, a native of Argentina, was editor of *La Opinion* in Buenos Aires He spent two and a half years as a political prisoner there In September he was released and settled in Israel This article was translated from Spanish by Edith Pieper and Leon Wieseltier

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he believes that Israel gave me refuge That is precisely what Israel did not do Many countries in the West, when word first got out that I might be released, quietly contacted my family and offered residence and citizenship, assistance and work The only country that did not do this was Israel Nor did I ask permission of Israel to come here I came simply to take what is mine Israeli citizenship It is mine for being born a Jew Nobody has to offer it to me, and of nobody need I request it That is why Israel offered me nothing and why I requested nothing And in the not-offering and the not-asking lies the greatness of what happened

How can this be explained? Those who aided me, who generously offered their countries, who asked me to accept the asylum they proposed, must understand that I have not rejected their acts of friendship They must also understand that I appreciate their help They must also know that I have no doubt that in those democratic countries the Jewish communities may freely develop and live, and not fear persecution But at the same time it is essential that they understand that deep within me, in my soul, in my veins, in my cells, in my atoms, I bear many centuries of persecution And it is not refuge that I want, however generous or safe it might be

The countries that offered me citizenship may be safer or more comfortable than Israel But which one, except Israel, could offer me that feeling of ownership? Here I am the owner Here I can offer refuge and help to the persecuted in other countries, to the Kurds, the Vietnamese, the Lebanese, the Cambodians It is a feeling that is difficult to explain, an experience difficult to transmit, especially in a few quick sentences at a press conference in the airport at Tel Aviv after 30 months in prison But was there a need for further explanations? For how many years have we been explaining this?

Through the street of many Western cities I could stroll as a secure citizen, without fearing for my safety as a man or as a Jew This is true But when I stroll through the streets of Tel Aviv, I do it as an owner, as the owner of every bit of ground, of every leaf on the trees And here lies the difference between saving and helping The Jews made Israel, and they can save me from the passionate complexities and contradictions of my Jewish identity Outside of Israel the others can only help me to feel no longer persecuted, to live in safety

I do not believe that those countries that offered me refuge, or those individuals and democratic institutions that assisted me, should take offense at this attitude Some consider it patronizing or aristocratic But it is the aristocracy of freedom, of a total and definitive freedom accepted without reserve

We may approach the issue from another angle There is a genre of speculative political fiction similar to science fiction For example, there was a book several years ago about the first black president of the United States Or imagine a pope chosen by the Kremlin Political fiction may transport us through many adventures of the imagination what if Hitler had invaded Britain?, what if a Nazi were elected to the White House?, etc One theme of such speculative works often is the consequence such an event would have for Jews But no political fiction could ever imagine that a Jew could be persecuted as such, as a Jew in Israel.

I believe that I may never find the words that will adequately express what this feeling means to a Jew But it is what I feel And it is what democratic people must understand Perhaps this way they will also understand Israel's insistence on many matters that affect its security as a state This insistence—or stubbornness, if you wish—troubles democratic countries such as France and Germany, which have resolved their border problems after many centuries of constant war

For this reason I again insist that only Jews can save the Jews That is a simple sentence, nothing original, even boring But when considered from the perspective I have been trying to explain, it is easy to understand. If certain Jews in the Diaspora feel uncomfortable with this sentence, it is because they feel obliged to make a great dialectical effort to explain that the Diaspora should continue to exist And if many non-Jews do not understand this sentence, it is because Jewish and Zionist organizations do not often enough accept the task of keeping alive, and in the open, the fundamental principles of Jewish identity In those countries where Jews have a clear perspective and firm conviction concerning their identity, as in the United States, this sentence should not arouse anxiety

In other words, I now have my own home, a homeland This affirmation frightened the *Judenrat* in Argentina it may be supposed in the Diaspora that a homeland cannot be found The historical meaning of my affirmation is greater than the particular events of my own experience The Israeli newspaper *Maariv* recently published letters from Argentinian political leaders pointing out that the annulment of my Argentinian citizenship should not disturb me, that it was a decision taken in peculiar political circumstances. And so in fact it was And I have no doubt that justice, and the political future in Argentina, will permit me again to obtain Argentinian citizenship if I ask But I will not ask Never And this must not be understood as a negation of the Argentinian people, or of the 50 years that I lived there My act is an affirmation, not a negation It is the affirmation that there exists a Jewish history that is legitimate, a Jewish historical memory that cannot be discarded It is the affirmation of that process of national liberation called Zionism which goes beyond my own story. It matters little what happens to me personally What matters is that in the face of any eventuality that may befall any Jew, in any part of the world, for just or unjust reasons, Israel remains a homeland to which he or she can come without explanations And here that Jew is as much the master

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as those thousands of Jews whose families have lived here for generations, many of them as long as or longer than most of the Arabs who inhabit other parts of Palestine Even those countries that are most open to refugees present certain conditions they ask to know about background, education, health, and so on Only Israel presents no conditions in its offer of a homeland

Zionism is not a movement of persecuted people, it is a movement of free people It is in the democracies, in the countries from which Jews do not need to escape, that Zionism develops most strongly, and where it has its best results This is precisely because Israel offers much more than a refuge It offers a unique possibility for the perfection of man the development of his identity to its furthest and most profound conclusions Our historical memory, the memory of many holocausts past, and the idea that nobody can guarantee the impossibility of holocausts in the future, however remote they seem, is an integral part of Zionism It is only one part, and perhaps the decisive part But the crucial feature of Zionism is national liberation, identity There may be those who wish to portray this as the negation of the Diaspora But it is something more important it is the affirmation of the future I am here in Israel to be part of the future Not to be the result of the past

The collapse of the middle class.

White-Collar Status Panic

by Paul Blumberg

The unprecedented inflation of the past decade has produced dramatic changes in the customary income differences between white-collar and blue-collar workers In 11 years between 1967 and 1978, prices, as reflected in the consumer price index, virtually doubled Just to stay even with inflation before taxes, a worker's pay had to double The figures in Table I reveal that among American wage and salary workers, only those in strong trade unions have been protected from the effects of inflation These few workers continued to enjoy real wage increases much as they did in the earlier postwar period. The figures given here are all before taxes, recent inflation has driven all workers into higher tax brackets, so the after-tax trends in income are far gloomier for those who have done the best. Nevertheless, the relatively small groups of workers in steel, auto, mining, trucking, and the like, whose wages are indexed to the cost of living, have managed to ride the inflation escalator and make decent gains in this period The industrial worker's greatest hedge against inflation in the last decade has not been gold, stamps, antiques, real estate, or baseball cards, but a strong trade union

Blue-collar workers in weaker unions or in industries that have been hard hit by imports—textile, garment, shoe workers—either have seen their living standards fall or barely are holding their own The same is true of practically all white-collar workers, most of whom are non-unionized A few high-level executives (such as federal managers) have made modest gains, but most non-unionized white-collar clerical, sales, and professional workers are slipping backward or are barely keeping up White-collar workers who have done the worst are those who started the period with relatively high incomes Their salary increases have pushed them into sharply higher tax brackets The clearest example is that of full professors On the average, their real salaries between 1967 and 1978 dropped 9 5 percent before taxes and about 17 5 percent after taxes. The only other large group to lose as much ground, proportionally, was families on welfare, who suffered a 16 5 percent loss of income between 1967 and 1978

Because the wages of blue-collar workers protected by strong cost-of-living allowances are rising so much more rapidly than the salaries of white-collar workers not so protected, these industrial workers have made striking gains on most salaried employees in the last decade Table II illustrates this by comparing the earnings of automobile workers with the earnings of various white-collar employees to illustrate these crucial income shifts The wages of autoworkers, tied to the cost of living, have dramatically outpaced the salaries of white-collar workers at all levels Compared to low-level clerical and retail sales workers,

Paul Blumberg teaches sociology at the City University of New York His book, *The Future of Inequality in an Age of Decline*, will be published next year by Oxford University Press

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Jacobo Timerman

WHF-57 (12/13/79)

(FOLLOWING IS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

RE: ARTICLE ON FIGHTING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS GLOBALLY (PAGE)

THE DECEMBER 12 NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED PAGE CARRIES AN ARTICLE BY JACOBO TIMERMAN TITLED "ZIONISTS TO FIGHT FOR RIGHTS GLOBALLY." TIMERMAN, WHO PUBLISHED THE NEWSPAPER LA OPINION IN ARGENTINA, WAS FREED IN OCTOBER AFTER 30 MONTHS OF DETENTION AND WENT TO ISRAEL. THIS ARTICLE WAS TRANSLATED FROM SPANISH BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. HEREWITH TEXT FOR POST INFORMATION ONLY.

(BEGIN TEXT)

I HAVE NOT YET VISITED ALL THE PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS THAT FOUGHT FOR MY FREEDOM FOR TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS. IF I HAVE NOT DONE SO IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT I LEFT ARGENTINA TOWARD THE END OF SEPTEMBER, IT IS BECAUSE I WAS LEFT BEWILDERED BY MY FIRST ENCOUNTERS IN TEL AVIV, NEW YORK AND

PAGE 02 -- RIGHTS

WASHINGTON. I THOUGHT EVERYONE EXPECTED TO EXPERIENCE A MOMENT OF HAPPINESS, AND I WAS WILLING TO EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE. BUT THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN MY GRATITUDE AND THERE WAS NOT MUCH HAPPINESS. I FOUND OVERWHELMING DESPAIR-ED NESS.

JAIL AND TORTURE WEIGH SO HEAVILY UPON THE LIFE OF A PRISONER THAT IT BECOMES DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO CONCEIVE AN IDEA OF THE WORLD THAT GOES BEYOND HIS DAILY SORROWS. WHEN THESE SORROWS END, HE BELIEVES AN ENTIRE WORLD HAS CHANGED. THAT IS NOT SO. IN MY FIRST CONVERSATIONS, I UNDERSTOOD THAT VERY LITTLE HAD CHANGED EXCEPT THAT ONE POLITICAL PRISONER -- JUST ONE -- WAS NO A FREE MAN. THAT DOES NOT SUFFICE TO CHANGE THE WORLD. NOR DOES IT SUFFICE TO CHANGE THE SPIRIT OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT FOR THAT FREEDOM.

I FOUND OVERWHELMINGLY DESPERATE MEN WHO ASKED ME QUESTIONS FOR WHICH I HAD NO EASY ANSWERS. I HAD BELIEVED THAT THOSE FIGHTERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WHO ARE AFRAID OF THE BY WORLD THEY [illegible] TO [illegible] THEM. I [illegible] THEY

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NOT FOR THEIR PLANS. AS THE DAYS WENT BY AND WE STUDY, THE HEADLINES WOULD BRING MORE DISASTERS THAT IS HAPPENING IN THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: VIETNAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA, SENTENCES IN PRAGUE, HOSTAGES IN TEHRAN, ASSASSINATIONS IN EL SALVADOR, DISAPPEARANCES IN ARGENTINA.

- STATISTICS ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW THE POINT OF REFERENCE FROM WHICH A STATISTIC ON HUMAN RIGHTS DEPARTS. THE SOVIET UNION FEELS PROUD THAT 20 MILLION HEROES FELL IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NAZISM, BUT IN THE GULAGS 25 MILLION RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED TO DATE. STATISTICS KEEP THE COUNT OF ALL THOSE FREED FROM JAILS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT THEY DO NOT KEEP COUNT OF ALL THOSE - THE MAJORITY -- THAT SURVIVE, THAT FIND STRENGTH TO KEEP FROM DYING, AS A RESULT OF THE FEW HUMAN RIGHTS. THERE IS A STATISTIC THAT TELLS US THAT IN SPITE OF THE DEFEAT OF NAZISM AND OF STALINISM (THAT EQUALLY DESTRUCTIVE PHENOMENON), HORRORS THAT ARE ALSO UNIMAGINABLE CONSTANTLY REAPPEAR IN PLACES THAT ONE WOULD NOT SUSPECT -- URUGUAY, CHILE. IT IS A STATISTIC THAT COMPLETELY DESTROYS

THE SPIRIT OF STRUGGLE BECAUSE THE PRICE HUMANITY PAID TO DEFEAT NAZISM SHOULD HAVE ABOLISHED HORROR FROM THE EARTH.

S

UNTIL NOW, THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAS RESULTED FROM THE SOLIDARITY EXPRESSED THROUGH INNUMERABLE INSTITUTIONS, INDIVIDUALS AND JUST ONE GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED STATES'. TODAY THE OVERALL THREAT AGAINST RIGHTS EASILY SURPASS THE THREAT THAT COULD EMERGE FORM JUST A SINGLE STATE, AS IN THE CASES OF HITLER'S AND STALIN'S, OR THAT COULD ORIGINATE FROM A PARTICULAR IDEOLOGY. AGGRESSION AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME THE RECOURSE OF ALL IDEOLOGIES, OF ALL TENDENCIES. WHETHER IN A MINUSCULE RIGHTIST COUNTRY SUCH AS URUGUAY OR IN AN IMMENSE LEFTIST

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COUNTRY SUCH AS CHINA. THE SIMPLEST FORMULA FOR ARRIVING AT AND STAYING IN POWER IS THE UNLIMITED DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WHEN AGGRESSION AGAINST HUMANITY CENTERED ON A SYMBOL -- HITLER OR STALIN -- IT WAS EASY TO UNDERSTAND IT. WAS EASY TO ORGANIZE AGAINST ITS APOCALYPTIC MESSAGE. BUT TODAY AGGRESSION AGAINST HUMANITY IS WIDESPREAD, BROKEN INTO MANY PARTICLES OF INFINITE VARIATIONS OF AGGRESSION. AT WE

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ENTER THE 80'S, AS WE PREPARE TO CONCLUDE THIS CENTURY, WHICH SAW THE GREATEST, MOST BEAUTIFUL, MOST ORIGINAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE SPIRIT AS WELL AS THE GREATEST HORRORS, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE FINAL 20 YEARS WILL BE MARKED BY HORROR.

THEN, THE FIGHTERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD ADJUST THEMSELVES TO THIS NEW SITUATION. WHAT HAS BEEN A FEELING OF SOLIDARITY SHOULD NOW BE TRANSFORMED INTO AN IDEOLOGY. WHAT UNTIL NOW HAS BEEN AN ENDLESS SEQUENCE OF ISOLATED INITIATIVES SHOULD SOLIDIFY INTO A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- A PRIVATE MOVEMENT WITHOUT INTERVENTION OF GOVERNMENTS SO THAT IT WILL NEVER FEEL THE TEMPTATIONS OF "REASONS OF STATE." WHAT IF YOU NOW HAD BEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH, OF INFORMATION, OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, SHOULD CONVERT ITSELF INTO THE STRUGGLE FOR ONLY ONE RIGHT -- THE RIGHT TO LIFE.

LITTLE NEWS PIERCES THE JAIL CELL'S DARKNESS. USUALLY, IT COMES AS WHISPERS. BUT THE NEWS OF THIS MOVEMENT, OF ITS IDEOLOGY, WOULD ARRIVE. EVEN ASTE REMAINED IN HIS CELL,

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THE PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE WOULD FIND A WAY TO USE THIS NEW TO SURVIVE. THIS FIRST STEP WOULD SWELL HIM WITH JOY -- EVEN IF IT WERE JUST A FIRST STEP, BECAUSE THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WILL NEVER CONCLUDE AS LONG AS MEN LIVE. WHERIN LIES ITS BEAUTY, ITS TRAGIC BEAUTY. (END TEXT)

(PRECEDING IS MATERIAL NOT FOR PUBLICATION) ITS

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Buenos Aires, Argentina

CONFIDENTIAL (Entire Text)
W/SECRET ENCLOSURES
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

July 24, 1981

Mr. Robert E. Service
Director of Southern Cone Affairs
ARA/SC Room 4908
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Bob:

Enclosed you will find an article from La Prensa which cites extensive quotes from Timerman's interrogation. I also have included, with attachments, a memo that I did recently about Timerman. As you will see, the memo is largely based on transcripts we had received of what purported to be and, in fact, was part of Timerman's interrogation.

We only had some of the transcripts. Thus, the La Prensa quotes have some elements that were not included in the transcripts we had available -- or if they were, they were illegible in our transcripts which are apparently copies of copies. Essentially, though, I think the latest snippets of the interrogation confirm the conclusions in the memo.

Most importantly, the La Prensa piece seems to me to make even firmer the preliminary conclusion in my memo that Timerman was arrested as part of inter-army politics -- the hardliners who took him hoped to use him and, more particularly, the information they could gain about Graiver, to attack the Videla-Viola faction. In the transcripts we have, Camps, the interrogator, zeroes in on Timerman's connection to Lanusse. In these selections, Timerman's connection with Videla is brought to light. In the end, of course, the hardliners failed in this attempt to smear the moderates.

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(XDS-4 7/24/2001 Friedman,T.B. OR-P)

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Beyond the perspective on the past, what is striking to me in La Prensa's piece is that the paper included the part about Timerman's alleged connection with Videla. The target of the paper, like its hard-line friends, remains the relative moderates in the military -- Videla and Viola. The paper and the hardliners are still convinced that the moderates will "betray" the country and hand it back to the Peronists. The short-term alternative of some of the hardliners is hardly the liberal democratic model to which La Prensa pays allegiance -- but the paper could prefer it to a return to Peronism, though it still hasn't found a Pinochet.

A last note. I have been a bit hesitant about sending the Timerman memo to Washington, given the heated climate that exists there on this subject. Please hold it closely.

Sincerely,

Townsend B. Friedman
Political Officer

Enclosures:

a/s

† Actually "VEA!"

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